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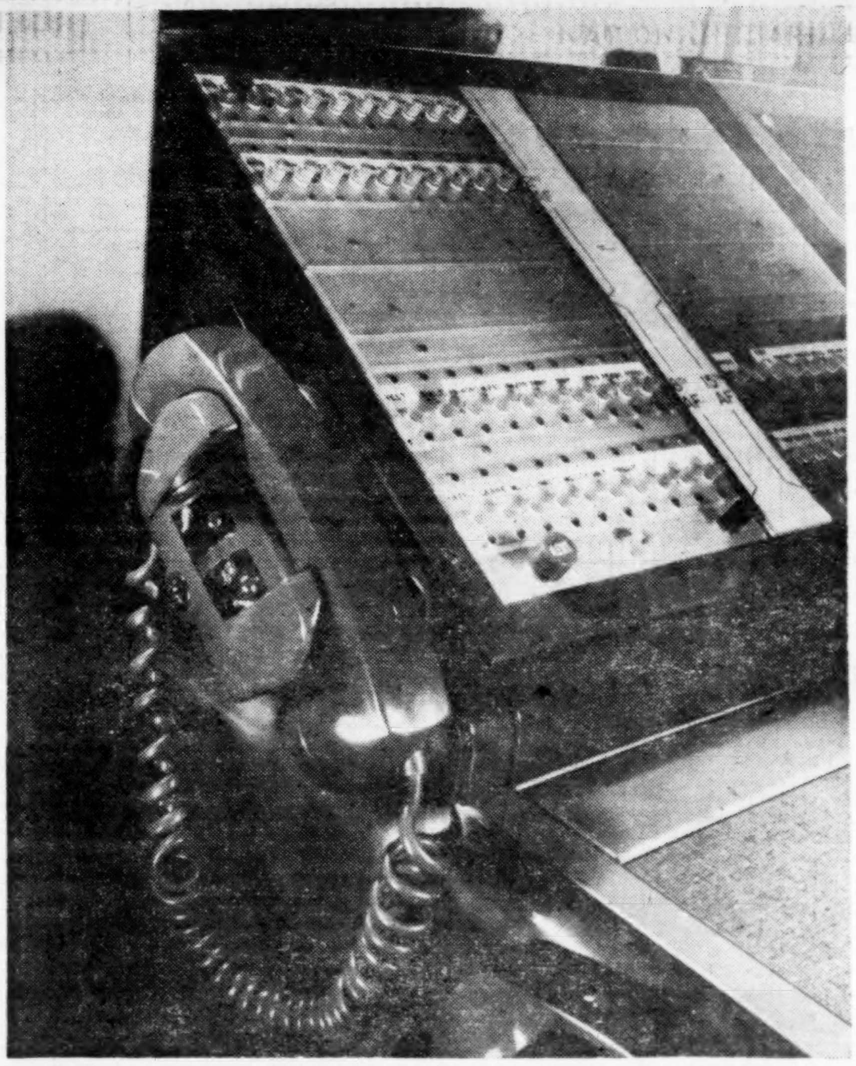

GENEVA CALLING: TIME TO DISCONNECT THE RED TELEPHONE

This phone is the key to the primary alerting system in the underground command post of the Strategic Air Command at Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska. By picking it up the senior controller can be in simultaneous touch with SAC command posts throughout the world. This is one of the reasons for slow progress at Geneva (see below).

THE HATED PASSES ARE NO MORE

S. African racists forced to retreat after blood bath

By Kumar Goshal

AT SHARPEVILLE near Johannesburg in the Union of South Africa, on the morning of March 21, 2,000 African men, women and children gathered quietly before a police station. Their assembling was a non-violent protest against the law—in effect for many years—requiring Africans to carry passes at all times. They had left their passes at home; for this, they expected and invited arrest, as the law prescribed.

The Africans dispersed when the police opened fire, killing one man and wounding two. They returned at noon, their ranks swelled to 20,000. Thousands of policemen drove into them with armored cars and mowed them down with submachine gun fire as jet fighter planes buzzed them.

"If they're going to do these things," said the chief of police, "they're going to have to learn the hard way."

BATTLEFIELD SCENE: "People fell like ninepins," an African eye-witness said. "Wounded women were screaming and shouting and I could see figures trying to raise themselves or pull themselves off the ground." Policemen said the scene resembled a battlefield, with bodies strewn all around. The official toll was 72 dead and 184 wounded, the London **News Chronicle** put it at 170 killed and 400 wounded; African estimates were higher.

The same day a similar demonstration in the African settlement of Langa, near Capetown, was brutally dispersed. During a larger demonstration there the next day, at least six Africans were killed and 46 wounded.

The demonstrations were called on March 18 by the Pan-Africanist Congress, founded a year ago, a militant offshoot of the older African National Congress. It is led by a 35-year-old Methodist, Robert Mangaliso (Bantu for "wonderful") Sobukwe, a brilliant scholar and linguist and a lecturer in Bantu and other African languages at the liberal Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg.

A HATED SYMBOL: Sobukwe organized the protests because, he said, the pass laws "are a symbol of oppression, exploitation and degradation of Africans." The laws restrict the movement of the Africans and limit the jobs—usually unskilled and menial—they can hold. Thousands of Africans are arrested annually for failure to carry passes and incur a $28 fine or two months in jail. For want of money to pay the fines they are sent to the big farms as slave labor instead.

As tension mounted, the South African government on March 24 banned all public meetings till June 30. Armed police and army units in armored cars patrolled the cities. Premier Hendrik Verwoerd warned of "serious steps" against new demonstrations. Police arrested Sobukwe and 131 colleagues on treason charges. A Johannesburg court ordered the flogging of five Pan-Africanist supporters.

THEY WON'T WORK: But the protest gathered momentum. A hundred Africans gathered at a Capetown police station and demanded to be arrested. More significantly, thousands of Africans—whose cheap labor is the backbone of South African industry—stayed away from work

(Continued on Page 8)

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"My God, I forgot—we're all breathing the same air!"

THE DEADLOCK AT GENEVA

New Western stall greets U.S.S.R. arms concession

THE TEN-NATION (five Eastern and five Western) disarmament conference and the nuclear test ban conference at Geneva remained deadlocked as the U.S. countered Soviet concessions by shifting its position and demanding further concessions.

The apparent obstacle at both conferences was U.S. insistence on comprehensive, foolproof control systems before an agreement; this the Soviet Union called "putting the cart before the horse." On general disarmament, when Moscow met U.S. objections by agreeing to move nuclear disarmament from the last to the first stage, Washington countered by calling for an International Disarmament Organization with sweeping powers.

ESPIONAGE SET-UP? Moscow had proposed a control and inspection system appropriate to each stage of disarmament. It contended that it would be impossible to anticipate the kind of inspection that might be necessary at a future stage, whereas experience gained in inspection methods at a current stage would be a fruitful guide. But the Western proposal, as presented by Italy, called for "permanent surveillance of national military budgets and military maneuvers, as well as control of all satellite and missile launchings" (AP, March 28).

To the Soviet Union and its allies this smacked of an obvious espionage set-up, since, as the London **New Statesman said** (March 26), "the West is demanding the establishment of an inspection system

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COMPROMISE MEASURE IS STRIPPED OF ESSENTIALS

House sends toothless civil rights bill to the Senate

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

AN ALMOST EMPTY civil rights package was wrapped up in the House of Representatives and delivered to the Senate on March 24. The vote was 311 to 109. It is expected that the Senate, after some jockeying and talking beginning Wednesday, March 30, will pass the House package on to the President without changes.

A compromised compromise of a compromise, HR 8601 will become the Civil Rights Act of 1960. It will be known as the "voting rights" bill, the subject of its only significant provision.

The voting rights section contains the revised proposal of Atty. Gen. William Rogers for court-appointed voting referees. It would extend the Civil Rights Act of 1957 which gave the Attorney General authority to bring injunction suits against election officials depriving a Negro of his right to vote. Under the new law the Federal court considering such an injunction would have the power to declare that a general pattern and practice of discrimination against Negro voters exists, and to appoint a voting referee who could recommend to the court that all persons discriminated against should be allowed to register and vote. Contempt of court charges could punish any election official who obstructed such voting.

OTHER PROVISIONS: The other sections of HR 8601 are desirable but of very limited importance. They provide: (1) Federal punishment for forceful interference with court orders on school integration; (2) Federal punishment for flight across state lines to avoid the law in cases of bombing and bombing threats; (3) that Federal election records must be kept for two years; and (4) that the Federal government could negotiate with local officials for school facilities to edu-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Stand Up!

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congratulations and a garland of spring roses for your powerful and beautiful editorial on the meaning of the new civil rights "sit down" movement in the South (March 21). It is a notable "stand up" wave sweeping Negro and white into unity and has in it the possibilities of a Great Leap which can win representative government and democratic rights for all Americans.

The 1960 bell of freedom is ringing for white America. If we want to stop the fascist counterattack now being organized and opened in West Germany and the United States, we will eagerly seek out our Negro friends, pledge them our daily and hourly support, and give it to them now in this nascent hour. They are fighting for us all.

Holland Roberts

•

CLAREMONT, FLA.

We wish to express our appreciation of the "Stand Up!" editorial. Let us all read it again, do what we can, and then see that it gets in the hands of a friend, with the hope that it gets passed on and on.

E.B.

•

LAKEWOOD, CALIF.

Congratulations on a superb issue. I keep thinking how proud and pleased Lou Burnham would have been. The foundations he laid are proving very sound.

Arkay

A Yellin victory

CHICAGO, ILL.

A brief line on a victory in the Edward Yellin First Amendment case (GUARDIAN, March 21). Yellin was fully reinstated by the University of Illinois at Champaign. He was so notified by the Graduate Committee which held hearings on his case and by the Dean of the Graduate School.

He had been supported by the student council, the regional National Students Assn., the American Assn. of University Professors at U of I and by many educational and civil liberties leaders throughout the state, including State Senator James Monroe of Collinsville, Ill.

The reinstatement is a significant victory in view of the University's action after his conviction in District Court for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. University leaders had previously indicated that he would probably be expelled from the university.

Richard Criley

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON—March 18 (UPI) — Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, announced today a determination to spell "communism" with a "K"—kommunism.

The admiral issued on advance copy of a speech to be delivered tomorrow at Pueblo, Colo. It uses the "K" spelling throughout.

"It seems to me," Admiral Burke said, when asked for an explanation, "that it would be helpful if more people were impressed every time they read about the Kommunists, with the fact that the Kremlin bosses Kommunists everywhere.

"Accordingly, it might help to testify kommunism for what it is—a foreignism and one that will never be accepted voluntarily by free people —by spelling it with a "K" instead of "C."

—N.Y. Times, March 19

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L.H., N.Y.C.

Africa South

MT. VERNON, N.Y.

The quarterly magazine **Africa South**, published and edited in Cape Town, is dedicated to the building of a multi-racial democracy in that land. The editor and publisher, Ronald Segal, has been under constant attack by the South African government for his outspoken opposition to the policy of **apartheid**. However, he is committed to the principle that world public opinion may serve as a deterrent to that apartheid policy.

Since its articles and stories deal not only with the political events but also with the art and culture of Africa south of the Sahara, the magazine is essential reading for all who want to be kept informed.

There is a strong possibility that the magazine will be banned locally within the Union and in South West Africa within the next few months. Should that happen, it would be a serious blow unless circulation could be increased in the United States and throughout the United Kingdom. Any help you could give toward that end would be most appreciated.

Miriam Singer

Annual subscription, $3; address 2 Vlam Gebou, Parliament Street, Cape Town, South Africa, or 320 W. 87th St., New York.

Teddy Boy pen-pals?

MORRISTOWN, PA.

Your mail bag letter from Monsuru Emiabata, Lagos, Nigeria, (March 14) may be really from a group of Teddy Boy promoters who are operating a racket under the guise of pen-pal correspondence. I did answer one such letter with a carton of rummage clothing but never even received a "thank you," much less the ceremonial items so primitively cultured. After this disappointment, I received another airmail request from a

London Daily Mirror

competitor in this one-way international exchange. He admitted the hoax put on by his fellow Nigerians. In my bundle there, I also enclosed some old GUARDIANS, which they may have used for this duplicity.

O. K. Kilroy

Another matter

BRISBANE, CALIF.

I don't like—do you?—Eisenhower's invitation to anyone who thinks E has intentionally deceived the nation to step forward, so that he (Ike) can "tell him what he thinks of him." Sounds like that Truman letter to the music critic who didn't love Margaret's singing. E has the power and prestige of his office on his side. His opponent has a perfect right to think what seems to him to be true. If E wished to try to convince him he is wrong, that's one thing. But to offer to "bawl him out" is quite another.

Nicht wahr?

Louise H. Horr

Let youth speak

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I for one would like to see Dr. Fidel Castro invite the youth of the Americas to visit Cuba during their summer vacations and witness first-hand the great strides being taken by the Republic of Cuba.

Youth hostels could be set up to house, feed and provide medical care for the visiting young ambassadors from the Americas.

After all, many of them will one day exercise some influence over the democratic processes of government and Latin American affairs.

R. E. Carles

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON FEB. 15, 158 PROMINENT CITIZENS from 28 states, headed by James P. Warburg, Henry B. Cabot and Robert E. Sherwood, urged President Truman to "take the leadership in halting the arms race" and "toward halting economic warfare among the world's hard-pressed peoples."

On Feb. 21 the main headline in the **Christian Science Monitor** read: PUBLIC BOMBARDS CAPITAL WITH PLEA FOR ATOM PEACE. The flood of letters in response to the peace plea of Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.) was "recognized on the Hill as one of the most spontaneous and earnest expressions of grass-roots feeling ever to make itself felt in the offices of the nation's legislators."

On Feb. 22 the National Peace Conference, . . . representing 40 national groups with a combined membership of 30,000,000, urged the U.S. to seek a world-wide armaments truce and work for the "improvement of the climate of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

On Feb. 27 Dr. Hugh C. Wolfe, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, asked President Truman to appoint a commission to draft new proposals for control of atomic energy as part of a general disarmament program.

On March 20 a pacifist group, the Peacemakers, announced that a group of some 50 persons would go to Washington on April 1 to fast for a Holy Week for peace . . .

On March 21 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America announced a "gigantic new effort for peace."

During March the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives . . . issued a call for a Mid-Century Conference for Peace . . .

All over the country the 1,245 delegates who had attended the Labor Peace Conference in Chicago last October were busily canvassing for 1,000,000 signatures to peace petitions to be obtained by April 1.

Also in March the International Council of Religious Education, meeting in Columbus, Ohio, proposed to seven of the major Protestant interdenominational agencies in the country that they join in an interfaith conference on the moral implications of the H-bomb: "In this year of our Lord 1950 the Christian churches cannot accept in silence the prospect of mass slaughter."

—From the National Guardian, April 5, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

The American image

THE TAMMANY SACHEMS of a few decades back had a formula for covering up graft and corruption: Maintain the outward appearance of decency. For today's more sophisticated world the Madison Avenue sachems have a new lingo for it: It's not what you are, it's the image you project that counts.

Why else, for example, would the Eisenhower Administration "express regret" over violence by the **apartheid** police in South Africa, if not to alter the image of the U.S. as it must appear to the world at large, and particularly to the non-white peoples of the world—when our government condones **apartheid** at home, even including the jailing of Negroes for entering a public library in our South, and the playing of fire hoses on students protesting jimcrow lunch counters?

It is a naive hope, at best, that this new and almost unprecedented official "posture" (that's also a Madison Avenue term, which in this case seems to cut both ways) can do very much to alter our image abroad. To think it can work at home is a joke.

The present President, who goes South frequently to golf at a jimcrow country club in Georgia, has commented on the violence and jailing of demonstrators against segregation only to the guarded extent that people should have the right to demonstrate if they do so peacably.

The last previous President, Harry Truman, has volunteered the comment on the lunch-counter sitdowns that if anybody came into his store (he used to run a haberdashery) and tried to stop business, "I'd throw him out." When the National Association for Advancement of Colored People expressed shock, Truman repeated his comment. No one asked him, unfortunately, if he would run the kind of store which took Negroes' money for neckties and the like, but would not let them eat at the lunch counter.

FROM WHERE WE SIT, we cannot see the image the U.S. is projecting abroad, but we can guess it must be pretty garbled. For example, the Under Secretary of State who presented our State Department's views on Africa to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was C. Douglas Dillon.

"Africa," he explained, "has been made a major target by the Communists, who are stepping up their propaganda and aid programs and seeking to heighten frustration and increase tensions in order to block sound progress under free institutions."

Just to get Dillon's image in focus for all, he is the Dillon of Dillon Read, the investment banking outfit of which the late James Forrestal was once president. Dillon Read has both Morgan and Rockefeller representatives on their board. It was a Morgan scion, Edward Stettinius, who quit as Secretary of State in 1945 and launched Stettinius Associates, to exploit the riches of Africa.

So it may well be that this is the sort of "sound progress under free institutions" of which Dillon spoke. (In case these facts sound vaguely familiar to you, they appeared in the GUARDIAN ten years ago, under a front-page headline, "Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. have grabbed your government.") As late as 1958, it was Dillon who, as ambassador to France, reassured that country that the U.S. had no wish to see France supplanted in Algeria.

OUR image-makers' new compassion for the plight of Africans, while ignoring the plight of Negroes at home, brings to mind afresh James Russell Lowell's lines from **The Pious Editor's Creed** of the Abolition days:

> I du believe in Freedom's cause
> Ez fur away ez Payris is.
> I love to see her stick her claws
> In them infarnal Phayrisees;
> It's wal enough agin a king
> To dror resolves and triggers—
> But Libbaty's a kind a thing
> That don't agree with niggers.

—THE GUARDIAN

Delinquents, please note

DULUTH, MINN.

Enclosed is check for my belated renewal of your invaluable paper. One has a tendency unfortunately to take the GUARDIAN for granted.

G.D.

Corn and pills

ERWIN, TENN.

An Ohio farmer, writing to Senator Kefauver about the high price of drugs and the low price of farm products, reports that he can get only three and a half arthritis pills for one bushel of corn.

Ernest Seeman

SOVIET PREMIER WARNS FRENCH THAT GERMANS AIM AT THEM

Mr. K comes to Paris and spring busts out all over

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

MR. K HAD SPRING and 300,000 Parisians on his side on his first day in France. Spring was everything that it can be in Paris: the sky a luminous blue, the trees in their first tender green, the squares and monuments and the Seine shining in the sun.

The Parisians were all kinds. Among the police-estimated 80,000 who lined the ten-mile stretch from Orly airfield to the Soviet Premier's Paris residence at the Quai d'Orsay (France's Foreign Ministry), there were school children and municipal councilors of some of Paris' Red Belt suburbs, housewives, babies and students.

I had my first glimpse of the cortege on one of the fashionable avenues not far from the Quai d'Orsay. The crowd stood four to five rows deep. It shouted and applauded as the open car with the two statesmen approached at good speed and—most spectacular—100 mounted Republican Guards relieved the motorcycles as official escort. The mood was friendly curiosity.

L'Express, Paris

"Not to the Quai d'Orsay! Why not spend the evening in a co-existentialist dive?"

EVEN COPS SMILE: The first Soviet flag I saw was in the hand of a pretty college student. From a nearby military hospital, the nurses had wheeled convalescents out into the sunshine to see the cars roll by. Everyone was relaxed and smiling—even the cops. From Mr. K's first contact with the Paris crowd, the temperature rose with each new meeting.

At 3 p.m., the Champs Elysées was black with people (100,000-200,000, a right-wing paper estimated) in a holiday mood. Vendors were selling everything from miniature French and Soviet flags (10c the pair) to a contraption generously called a "periscope;" from K biographies to portraits of Jean Jaurès. The people were in high good humor despite the long wait and the lightning glimpse of the presidential car. Many buildings were irregularly decked with flags, but down on the street there were a few dissenters.

"Aren't you ashamed to carry the Soviet flag?" an elderly lady asked a young woman.

"The shame is there aren't more flags out on the Champs Elysées, madam," said a World War II veteran, the buttonhole of his worn suit full of ribbons.

"DOWN WITH WAR": Things went quite differently at City Hall where Mr. K was received by the municipal council the next afternoon. For hours on end, a deliriously happy crowd poured into the square with flags and streamers. From this great human sea, the cheers and shouts of "Peace and Friendship" came up like waves. This was the heart of Paris. (City Hall borders on the birth place of the 1789 Revolution; it has seen the life and death of the Paris Commune.) "Disarmament!" the people shouted. "The generals to the factories!" "Down with War!"

Next day, the right-wing **Figaro** in an angry editorial entitled "The 'Breakthrough' of Mr. K," said the people in front of City Hall were Communist Party "commandos." "You can't tell us all these people were Communists," said the Soviet correspondents.

THE MAIN THEME: "What has Mr. K come here for?" one paper's headline asked the morning of Mr. K's arrival. The answer was not long in coming. Mr. K—as is his habit—was frank and direct. He touched on the essential theme at Orly: "If the Soviet Union and France have a common position on the fundamental problems of the preservation of peace, no aggressive force can raise its head in Europe."

Later that day, when he received a Peace Movement delegation, he was outspoken. The menace to peace had a name: the new German militarism. He warned that it did not endanger the Russians, for the Germans knew that attacking the U.S.S.R. would be suicide. Rather, he said, the threat was to France.

"Our two countries have fought together a common enemy," K said at the official Elysée dinner that same night. "The question now is: Must Europe live under the menace of a new aggression?"

This tough entrance into what for Mr. K obviously is the first order of business of his French trip was something of a diplomatic bombshell. Within hours, Bonn reacted, via Honolulu, where Chancellor Adenauer was en route to Japan with Foreign Minister Von Brentano. The foreign minister said Mr. K's views were utterly false, for "France does not fear German rearmament."

"Between K and De Gaulle, the shadow of Germany is ever-present," said the headline of the mass circulation evening paper **France Soir.**

AND WHAT RESULTS? Mr. K meanwhile stuck to his main theme. He regretted that the 1944 Franco-Soviet treaty had been denounced in 1955 "through the fault of some short-sighted politicians." He insisted he had no desire to separate De Gaulle from his Western allies, but emphasized in almost every speech in his first three days in Paris that "the road that leads to peace in Europe passes through union and friendship between the Soviet Union and France." He warned that if "the German militarism is allowed to produce and utilize atomic weapons, the consequences might be very grave."

The reactionary press was testy over Mr. K's "publicity campaign" and reassured its readers that he would never succeed in "dis-Atlanticizing" De Gaulle. As K left for the provinces, the press on the whole ventured few concrete predictions. But not all observers believed, with **Le Monde**, that the visit would produce "more assurances of good-will than real results." Top-level conversations and—so the rumors went—new points of departure taken, particularly in atomic and general disarmament, left the field wide open for speculation.

PICTURE OF TWO MEN: The De Gaulle-K meeting is an event of extraordinary interest. Politically, it is a confrontation by two men of comparable caliber—both consummate masters of every weapon in the diplomatic arsenal. Humanly, the contrast is fascinating: on the one hand, a representative of ultra-Catholic, conservative, right-wing aristocracy, with his inaccessibility, his Louis XIV manners, his exorbitant pride; on the other, a one-time miner and shepherd who has made his own way and his own—immense and immensely diversified—education, and by choice maintained a straightforward manner and a peasant humor.

The two men must have taken each other's measure, recognized their respective strength, and been impressed. Said De Gaulle of the Soviet Premier: "Since I have met Premier Khrushchev, I have already learned a lot of things." K, to a reporter's question what had most impressed him about De Gaulle, said it was the General's steadfast will to serve his country.

The prime political cards are now on the table. They place before De Gaulle a major decision and a great opportunity. He can, if he will, play a capital role in disarmament and peaceful coexistence. He can translate his oft-proclaimed politics of national independence into reality and at the same time get for France a front seat in international politics. Without anticipating any spectacular decision, the days and weeks to come will show whether he is prepared and situated to take advantage of this opportunity.

MRS. K'S PARIS: In the first three days, Mrs. K played an important role in making their visit a success. Her smile and her simplicity have worked an immediate charm. She made big headlines as she visited a children's hospital, the Louvre, and a progressive girl's school. At the school, as a teacher among teachers, she showed particular interest in the housekeeping classes ("something we don't have yet but must introduce"). She made an impromptu appearance at a France-U.S.S.R. gala and embraced CP leader Maurice Thorez.

Rather than attend a high fashion show, she decided, with her three daughters, to see the ready-to-wear models in a big department store, and was as much impressed with the low prices as with the cut of the dresses. People were on her trail wherever she went. At the department store, 20,000 women blocked the stairways and corridors and wildly applauded her. Mrs. K was visibly moved. She was discreetly elegant at the big state banquets. There was obviously nothing she could not take in her stride.

JOURNEY TO THE PAST: Most moving moments of the first Paris days were two returns to the past: the pilgrimage to Lenin's 1909-1912 Paris apartment, and the visit to the Mont Valérien crypt.

In the modest two-room flat on the second floor of a very ordinary apartment house in the south end of Paris, the French CP was Mr. K's host and the memory went back to the early years of the founder of the world's first socialist country.

At Mount Valérien where over 6,000 French Resistance fighters were shot by the Nazis, the past was the horror and suffering of the last war shared by the two countries.

Perhaps the passage in Mr. K's speeches that most moved Parisians was his reminder that the three Nazi divisions which in June 1940 invaded Paris were wiped out in 1943 at Stalingrad.

HE DEFIED THE WALTER COMMITTEE

High Court to hear Wilkinson's appeal

A SIGNIFICANT progress note was registered for civil liberties on March 28 when the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the appeal of Frank Wilkinson on his conviction for contempt of Congress growing out of his defiance of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Wilkinson, secretary of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, defied the Committee at an Atlanta hearing in July, 1958. Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, also was convicted after a similar defiance at the same hearing. Wilkinson is a leader in the movement to abolish the Committee. Braden has also petitioned the Supreme Court for a hearing, and a decision in the Wilkinson case is certain to affect the Braden case. Both men have been sentenced to one-year terms.

In a statement to the GUARDIAN from Los Angeles, Wilkinson said:

"On behalf of the many Americans who have placed their faith in the First Amendment when called before the Un-American Committee and other inquisitorial committees of government, I am deeply grateful for this decision of the Supreme Court to grant a hearing in my case.

"In cooperation with the thousands upon thousands of other citizens who have become convinced of the inherent evils of the Un-American Activities Committee, I shall carry on the fight in the courts to protect the constitutional rights of individuals attacked by the committees, and in the Congress to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee altogether."

Please Reserve The Evening Of
THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 8:30 P.M.
for the
Testimonial Meeting In Memory Of
LOUIS E. BURNHAM
NEW YORK CENTER
227 W. 46th St.
New York City
AUSPICES
Friends of Louis E. Burnham
Program to be announced

MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO GROW

Two months of sit-ins win several victories

By Robert E. Light

Someday you will be happy that you lived in this time because something is happening . . . You are watching a movement in which religious principles are being applied . . . For the first time in my life I have seen it [Christianity] working.
—Harry Golden at a conference of the North Carolina Student Legislature, March 19

AS NON-VIOLENT anti-segregation demonstrations ended their second month in the South, Negro students could sum up substantial gains. The movement, which started Feb. 1 by four students at a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., showed no signs of abating. It had spread to more than 50 cities through most of the South and involved thousands of students. With each new protest the students gained strength.

In a few places the demonstrators counted victories. Some local stores which closed their counters when the protests began, re-opened serving all. The latest to end jimcrow was the coffee shop at the city hall in Houston, Tex. But the national chain stores—Woolworth, Kress, Kresge and Grant—continued to refuse to serve Negroes at their Southern lunch counters.

There were also some partial victories. Some cities set up bi-racial committees of leading citizens to seek a solution. Such committees were formed in Savannah and Atlanta, Ga.; Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., and Greensboro, N.C.

Some sly store owners finessed the issue. They took out the lunch counter stools and served all on a stand-up basis.

HARRY SPEAKS UP: In the Deep South there were no break-throughs. Cross burnings by members of the Klu Klux Klan were increasing. The Klan's activities served to underscore what city and state officials had already made clear: Negro demonstrations will be met with violence—from police or private individuals, or both.

A legal test of lunch counter discrimination is certain to come soon. More than 1,000 demonstrators have been arrested on a variety of ordinances including newly-enacted anti-trespass laws. Many chose jail in preference to fines; others refused to post bond and stayed in jail. In several cities the students, backed by the NAACP, pledged to fight the issue through the courts.

The courts will be asked to decide if a store can refuse to serve Negroes at one counter while it encourages their business at others. One Missouri lawyer had a ready opinion. Former President Harry S. Truman said: "If anyone came into my store and tried to stop business, I'd throw him out."

FIRM GROUND: The students' vigor and courage has served to unite the adult Negro community behind them. The NAACP has pledged to post bond, pay fines and provide lawyers for the demonstrators. It has also called for a nationwide boycott of the chain stores.

The New York **Amsterdam News** said for the adult Negro: "The issue is joined. This is an undeclared war of economic power whether we like it or not.

"Frankly we don't like it. But our children have forced it upon us.

"And now that they have done this we are forced to agree that this is exactly what should have been done long ago . . .

"Let there be no doubt where we stand. We are standing solidly behind the NAACP and our children. And we submit that we are standing on firm ground with God and the Constitution on our side."

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American
The growing tempest over the equal right to drink a cup of coffee

WHITE SUPPORT: The demonstrators have also found willing allies among white students, North and South. On March 19 the North Carolina Student Legislature, representing 11 white and seven Negro colleges, called for an end to segregated eating places.

In dozens of Northern cities white students eagerly joined NAACP picket lines and, in some cases, initiated their own. They also collected funds for the Southern students. In Boston, students from Radcliffe, Harvard, Brandeis, Boston and MIT recently formed a committee to get 20,000 signatures on a petition in support of the Southern students. By last week-end they had 8,000 names.

THE STATESMEN: The nation's white statesmen, with notable exceptions, have been the slowest to respond. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) are the only two political figures to support the sitdowns.

At a press conference last month President Eisenhower reminded some of the businessman who, when asked if he appreciated flowers, replied: "What am I—a milliner?" The President was asked: "Do you believe that Negroes have guaranteed rights to eat with whites at lunch counters?" He answered: "I am certainly not lawyer enough or wise enough in this area to know when a matter is such as actually to violate the Constitutional rights of Negroes."

Recently some white religious leaders have taken a stand. Rev. Dr. Joachim Prinz, national president of the American Jewish Congress, on March 25 sent letters to the presidents of the chain stores urging them to integrate the lunch counters in their Southern stores.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, on the same day, issued a statement in support of the demonstrations. The Student Council at New York's Manhattan College passed a resolution favoring the demonstrators and urged other Catholic colleges to follow suit.

THE LABOR LEADERS: Labor leaders generally have been silent. AFL-CIO president George Meany and vice president Walter P. Reuther sent telegrams to President Eisenhower urging him to look into police behavior in Montgomery, Ala., but neither has made a statement in direct support of the students.

But the students have received some labor support. The North Carolina State AFL-CIO at its annual convention unanimously endorsed a resolution expressing "approval of the efforts" of the demonstrators.

In New York the AFL-CIO Intl. Ladies Garment Workers organized picket lines outside a Woolworth store. Delegates to a conference of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union adjourned their meeting to join other pickets in downtown San Francisco.

NOT AFRAID: Tactics of the student demonstrators has varied. When lunch counters closed or police or others barred demonstrators from taking seats, they picketed. In Petersburg, Va., students staged a sitdown against jimcrow in the town library.

In Memphis, Tenn., sitdowns were held in two libraries and an art gallery. Police arrested 41 demonstrators. Some trials were put off until April 6 while community leaders sought a solution.

Rev. Harry C. Bunton, president of the Negro Interdenominational Alliance, told a meeting in Memphis: "I don't think the white folks have fully grasped the situation yet. It seems they think they can solve these sitdowns by more fully equipping policemen or by jailing our youngsters. Our youths are not afraid of policemen."

The **Amsterdam News** summed up by recalling Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Voluntaries":

So nigh is grandeur to our dust
So near is God to man
When Duty whispers low "Thou Must"
The Youth replies, "I can."

Baltimore Afro-American
"You need to do something about that weapon, Sam."

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Civil rights bill

(Continued from Page 1)

cate children of servicemen in areas where an integration dispute has closed local schools.

House passage of HR 8601 came according to plan, as determined earlier in the "gentleman's agreement" between Southern House leaders and the Republicans. All proposals by Judiciary Committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) to add stronger civil rights measures, to outlaw the poll tax, to protect Negroes from job hiring discrimination in Federal contracts, and to use Federal power and resources to enforce all civil rights including school desegregation, were ruled out of order by the presiding chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.). Walter's rulings were upheld by the House with only token votes being registered in opposition. The effort to enact more effective vote protection was defeated by a bipartisan coalition.

The final vote on the key voting rights section came after all major Dixiecrat gestures outside the "gentleman's agreement" to scuttle HR 8601 had lost.

HARSH WORDS: The 295 vote for the voting rights section included 172 Democrats and 123 Republicans. Opposed were 100 Democrats and 24 Republicans. The Texas delegation split, 6 voting for "voting rights" and 14 against. Representatives W. R. Hull Jr. and Paul C. Jones of Missouri were the only two non-Southern Democrats who voted with the Dixicrats.

Dixiecrat bitter-enders had harsh words against the passage of even mild and weak HR 8601. Rep. L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina said: "It won't be long now before the official slaughter of the white people in the South begins. It will be bloodshed in my part of the world."

Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) and Dixiecrat leader Howard Smith (Va.) deplored the breakdown of the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition in the following exchange:

Rep. Hoffman: "What became of that coalition we had back in the time when we put through the Taft-Hartley bill when we overrode Mr. Truman's veto? . . . How come that my friend, the gentleman from Virginia, does not see the gentleman from Indiana on our side (House Republican leader Charles Halleck) and get that old coalition working, or did something happen to somebody? Republicans will get more votes come November that way than we will by this new alliance with the extreme left wing on the Democratic side."

Rep. Smith: "I will say to the gentleman that the coalition which you are speaking of is all in the past and that was before the Attorney General (Rogers) took over the functions and the dictatorship of the House of Representatives."

Rep. Hoffman: "He did?"

Rep. Smith: "Yes, he did."

Rep. Hoffman: "Well, how about that? What do you know?"

NO TEETH: The Dixiecrat cries of pain were largely for home consumption. There is good reason to expect that the weak and complex law will have little effect on the voting practices in the South. Yale Law School Professor Thomas I. Emerson points out in the **Nation** (March 19, 1960) that such a law must "force recalcitrant, ingenious and committed state officials to do what they are resolved not to do," and warns that the voting rights section is "fatally defective . . . simply unworkable on the scale necessary to achieve results." He adds that "none of the plans deals directly with the underlying problems of physical intimidation and economic coercion which keep many thousands of Negroes away from the polls."

A New York **Times** report from Newton, Ga., March 17, said: "Voting rights proposals before Congress promise the Negro little help when viewed in the framework of this Black Belt community. Elections in Baker County are considered 'white folks business'. . . . The reason given is a fear of the economic and physical reprisals that might be the lot of any Negro who sought to register."

NO HELP: The report reveals that Baker County Negroes who tried to register under the 1957 Civil Rights Act had their property dynamited, and it lists many instances of violence and threats against other Negroes inclined to register. Most of the Negroes, a majority in this county, work as farm hands at wages of $3 to $7 a day. The largest plantation there is owned by R. W. Woodruff, board chairman of the Coca Cola Co. who frequently during the quail hunting season is host to his friend, President Eisenhower.

One Negro told the **Times** correspondent that he would like to vote but that he wouldn't be able to: "I know the law may be passed, but we've got to live here in Baker County."

It seems likely that many more Negroes will register and vote in the South in coming elections. This will be due to the courage of the new Negro youth, the population trend to the cities, and the general upsurge of Negroes in the South—not because of the 1960 Civil Rights Act. In the first three years of the 1957 Act no Negro actually gained a vote.

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE OLDSTERS

Big push needed for action this year on the Forand bill

EVERY ELECTION YEAR an audience-conscious Congress performs its old-age "bit." With almost no opposition, it votes increased social security benefits, too small to really help the aged but large enough to be appreciated. When Congressmen take to the stump, each takes bows for having helped the senior citizens.

Congress has been performing this routine since 1950, but this year it has a chance to earn its applause. Rep. Aime Forand (D-R.I.) is trying to bring to the floor his bill which would offer surgical, hospital and nursing home care for the aged. The bill, now in the House Ways and Means Committee, has been watered down considerably but is still an enormous aid to the aged. It is also a recognition of the need for Federal participation to guarantee adequate medical care. For this reason the American Medical Assn. and the insurance companies have maintained an enormous pressure campaign which threatens the bill.

Advance, New York

Turnabout is fair play!

MORE OLDSTERS: People are living longer than they used to: In 1900 there were only 3,000,000 persons in the U.S. over 65; today there are nearly 16,000,000 and by 1970 there will be 20,000,000. Working people are also retiring earlier than before (not always because they want to, but industry often does not hire persons over 45). But most senior citizens are not able to enjoy a life of leisure. They are haunted by the fear of increasing medical and hospital costs for protracted illnesses likely to occur after 65. Most older persons also cannot afford medical care for preventive treatment.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates that the minimum income necessary for a retired couple to satisfy basic needs is $2,300 a year. The average retired couple on social security receives $1,440 a year, and 60% have annual incomes of less than $1,000.

Most persons covered by health insurance during their working years are dropped by the insuring companies on retirement or when they reach 65. For a time insurance companies would not offer individual health insurance to persons over 65. But recently the companies have found a bonanza in such policies.

INADEQUATE COVERAGE: Continental Casualty has signed up hundreds of thousands for its 65-Plus Hospitalization Plan. For a nominal fee subscribers are enrolled in the Natl. Ass'n. of Retired Persons, making them eligible for the insurance. At an additional ocst of $6.50 a month they are insured for up to $10 a day for 31 days of hospital confinement; up to $100 for laboratory fees and up to $200 for surgical fees. Mutual of Omaha and others have similar plans.

Most of the protection in these plans is for the companies; the subscriber's needs are scarcely met. The plans cover hospitalization for a given illness only once a year. Persons with chronic ailments must pay all hospital costs after the first confinement. Few hospitals charge as little as $10 a day; the difference must be met by the patient.

Although the companies assure subscribers that the plan is non-cancellable, the policy is written in the name of the old-age association. If experience proves the plan unprofitable, the company can cancel the group's policy or raise rates.

CLOSED TALKS: Organizations for the aged have looked to Washington for help for many years. Forand introduced his bill just before Congress adjourned in 1957. It sat in committee in 1958. But last year it drew some attention when Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced a similar bill in the Senate. But all agreed serious consideration would be delayed until 1960—an election year.

For the past two weeks the bill has been discussed in closed sessions of the House Ways and Means Committee. Reports indicate that some sections of the bill have been eliminated or weakened. In its original form, the bill offered all persons eligible for social security benefits (retirement, survivor or dependent): (1) full coverage for hospital and surgical expenses for up to 60 days a year and (2) full nursing home care for 120 days minus time spent in a hospital.

Each person on social security would receive a card certifying his eligibility to be presented to the hospital or nursing home at the time of confinement. The hospital or nursing home would bill the Department of Health, Education and Welfare at previously-agreed rates. This is very similar to the Blue Cross system.

PAYROLL TAX: Payment for the plan would come from a payroll tax of one-half of one percent, shared equally by employe and employer, on income up to $4,800 a year. The maximum payment by an employe would be $12 a year.

Advocates point out these advantages over private insurance plans: (1) premiums are one-sixth as large; (2) they are made when the person is working and are based on income and (3) the Forand plan covers full hospital costs for longer periods and includes nursing home care.

Republicans on the committee delayed reporting out the bill until the Administration offered its own plan. President Eisenhower told a news conference in February that a proposal was being prepared. But when HEW Secy. Arthur S. Flemming testified March 23 he said that the Administration could not agree on a program.

Herblock, Washington Post

"And here's the report on your latest checkup at Walter Reed hospital."

IKE FOR 'STUDY': He said that he had been authorized at a White House conference to explore the possibilities of private health insurance for older persons with low incomes subsidized in part by Federal and state governments. He added that the Administration was united in opposition to "any program of compulsory health insurance."

Reports indicate that Flemming and Vice President Nixon want an Administration plan as campaign fodder. But Treasury Secy. Robert B. Anderson and Budget Director Maurice H. Stans oppose Federal expenditures as a threat to the balanced budget. At the White House conference President Eisenhower favored further study.

Lobbying against the Forand bill has been fierce, with the American Medical Assn. leading the opposition. It calls the bill "socialized medicine" and "political medicine" and warns that is is a first step toward national health insurance. Some of its arguments are reminiscent of the opposition to the original social security bill: It warns that the plan will drain the Federal treasury, tax the young to help the old, push private enterprise out of the picture and that hypochondriacs will crowd out of hospitals many truly sick persons.

As its contribution to the aged, the AMA recommended to all doctors that they charge lower fees for retired persons. Sen. Morse commented: "Such an answer is like giving an aspirin to a man with a broken bone."

STRONG BACKING: Support for the bill has also been vigorous. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) reported that between March 1 and March 15 he received 700 letters, two-to-one in favor. Other legislators report similarly heavy mail.

Despite the AMA, many prominent physicians have endorsed the bill. Dr. Basil C. MacLean, recently retired president of the Natl. Blue Cross Assn, past president of the American Hospital Assn. and Commissioner of Hospitals in New York City from 1954 to 1957, said: "A lifetime's experience has led me at last to conclude that the costs of care of the aged cannot be met, unaided, by the mechanism of insurance or prepayment as they exist today."

Support has also come from the general board of the Natl. Council of Churches of Christ.

LABOR ACTIVE: The most active lobbying has been conducted by the AFL-CIO. It has staged regional demonstrations across the country. At a rally on March 23 in New York, 6,000 retired unionists overflowed two Manhattan Center ballrooms; many heard the speeches from a loudspeaker in the street. AFL-CIO secy.-treasurer William F. Schnitzler advised the meeting: "Don't get sick. President Eisenhower isn't ready for you yet." He also noted: "We've got a President who has spent his entire life on the public payroll. He has never paid a doctor's bill in his life." Mayor Robert F. Wagner, son of the author of social security, also spoke.

The City Central Labor Council and the Council of Golden Ring Clubs will hold a rally on the Forand bill May 18 in Madison Square Garden.

Forand said that if the committee did not act by April 1, he would circulate a discharge petition in the House. If he gets 219 signatures, the bill will come to the floor. Letters to Congress could help Forand's petition.

The most significant commentary on the bill came from the Indiana Funeral Directors Assn.—which opposed it.

Dyad, Daily Worker, London

"Blimey—the Cabinet's still engaged."

Seamen win fight on screening

AFTER A NINE-YEAR battle with the Coast Guard, the shipowners and the maritime unions, 2,000 blacklisted seamen have won the right to ship out again on U.S. flag ships. The Seamen's Defense Committee (201 Second Ave., New York City), the blacklisted men's organization, said last week that a decision by U.S. District Court Judge Alexander Bicks on Feb. 29 "marks the end of . . . litigation by the screened seamen . . . to earn their living in the maritime industry."

In an out-of-court settlement, the unions and the shipowners agreed to restore union membership and seniority to the blacklisted men, and let them participate in regular hiring by rotation. The shipowners and the National Maritime Union will bear the costs of the litigation. The seamen agreed to waive their suit for damages. All seamen affected by Judge Bicks' order—although not named in the suit—will have till June 5 to take advantage of the settlement.

Victor Rabinowitz, attorney for the seamen, said of the order: "It strikes a blow at industrial screening in the maritime industry and will have a profound effect elsewhere throughout the country where there are still such problems."

TRUMAN'S ORDER: Coast Guard screening began in 1950, at the height of the Korean War hysteria. Seamen were denied security clearance under Harry Truman's Presidential order based on the 1950 Magnuson Act. San Francisco seamen instituted a suit against the Coast Guard in 1951 and, four years later, a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that validated papers must be issued to those blacklisted. After a year's delay, the papers were finally stamped "validated" by the Coast Guard in 1956.

The maritime unions, particularly the NMU, then took up where the Coast Guard left off. All unions refused to recognize validated papers despite the Court of Appeals ruling. Those who appealed to the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO were told that the refusal was based on a "question of loyalty." No evidence was cited. In 1957, the unions and the shipowners amended their contracts to withhold registration if the question of loyalty arose.

A suit against the NMU and the shipowners was entered by 14 New York seamen in Federal court in 1958. A pre-trial motion by the defendants to have the trial dismissed failed. Then came their efforts to settle the case without a trial which culminated in the conclusive victory on Feb. 29.

APPEAL SET FOR APRIL 4

Temporary stay granted Winston

FEDERAL JUDGE Sterry S. Waterman of the Court of Appeals on March 17 granted a stay to Henry Winston, whom Federal prison authorities are seeking to transfer from the Montefiore Hospital in New York to the prison hospital in Springfield, Mo.

The stay was arranged by mutual consent to last until April 4 when the Court of Appeals will hear argument on an appeal from the decision of Federal District Judge Edmund L. Palmieri denying a motion for an injunction to stop the removal of Henry Winston from the hospital, and to permit his transfer instead to the Bird S. Coler Hospital in New York recommended by Dr. Milton Lowenthal, specialist in physical rehabilitation at Montefiore Hospital.

Attorney John Abt argued that the removal of Winston to a prison hospital would violate the constitutional provision against cruel and unusual punishment. He cited two affidavits of eminent Montefiore physicians and specialists who advised that Winston, already blind and unable to use his legs after a major operation for a brain tumor, requires specialized rehabilitation treatment by trained experts which is not available in any prison hospital. Winston is already blind beyond recovery.

'THE COMMUNES MAKE EVERYTHING EASIER'

A third of all Chinese are going to school

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

CANTON

FIGURES NOW ARRIVING from the rural areas of China on schools, health and recreation—they come in more slowly of course than from the big towns—indicate that an utterly incredible growth in all these activities has been facilitated in the past year by the people's communes. This form of organization is still something of a puzzle to the Russian and European lands of the Soviet bloc, and it might not fit any country but China. But it fits China's long tradition of local county rule as if tailored to it, which indeed it was.

One was only normally surprised to learn that more than 11,000,000 tons of pig iron were produced in 1959 by the small local furnaces set up almost overnight in the steel drive of late 1958, and since developed into local units on commune or county scal. with more modern equipment. This was more than half of China's total production, and considerably more than Japan produced, though till recently Japan was industrial leader of East Asia.

Industrial development was, however, from the start the announced reason for the commune organization. Small, local industry, rapidly modernizing, has spread through the communes to every corner of China, and shows its value in at least four ways: By speeding the general industrialization of the country; by building up weak spots and making industrial distribution more rational; by making local farm tools and doing their repair right on the farms; and by training new technicians.

MASS TURNOUT: Nor is one surprised that 70,000,000 people turned out this past winter in what has now become a regular winter drive for water conservation, which aims eventually to control and get maximum use of every river and stream in the country for power, irrigation and navigation. Everyone knows that the peasants' chief concern in China has always been water control.

But when Dr. George Halten, who works on medical field teams fighting syphilis and leprosy, told me a year ago: "The communes make everything easier," I did not get the full import of his words. I did not realize the full import of the people's commune for matters like health, recreation and schools until now.

A third of all China's enormous population is now reported attending school, including primary, secondary and university schools, and also the even bigger network of part time and spare time courses, in everything from learning to read and write to learning advanced techniques. This terrific "leap" is the result of the people's communes and has been attained in the single year of 1959.

School enrollment in regular primary and secondary schools and universities came to more than 100,000,000 in 1959, a normal growth of 5,000,000 more than the previous year, but four times the total reached in the peak year of pre-liberation China. Enrolled in primary schools were 90,000,000, in secondary schools 12,900,000, in higher education 810,000. The figures taper off fast towards the top, showing how recent the entrance into school was been.

EVERYBODY'S LEARNING: Besides this, however, another 100,000,000 people, adults rather than children, are studying in the part time or spare time classes set up by factories, mines, and neighborhood organizations, especially by the people's communes. Ten million people were enrolled in part time schools of secondary schooling or technical and higher education, but when the number in part-time primary schools and literacy courses were added, the total came to more than 100,000,000.

If deductions and corrections are made for various deviations in these figures, it seems conservative to state that, with China's population around 650,000,000, one third of all persons old enough to handle a pencil are attending some school.

The big increase is from the bottom. Every commune maintains its junior middle school and every county at least one senior middle school, but primary schools blossom in almost every production brigade of the commune. Higher educational institutions are usually on the provincial level.

ALL COMMUNES HAVE THEIR OWN HOSPITALS AND MATERNITY HOMES
The most rapid spread of medical care the world has even known

AHEAD OF TIME: China has thus, by the "big leap" of the past two years and especially by the people's communes, reached the target in primary schools and secondary schools set for 1962, the end of the second five-year plan, and reached it in two years instead of five. The fact that this has also happened in major industrial products like iron, coal, electric power, makes it no less an attainment that it should have happened in schools.

Achievements in health are equally fantastic. The most important development in medical services in 1959 was the placing of all rural medical forces under the communes, and the rapid "leap" of their work. Every commune now puts up its hospital, and attaches clinics and maternity homes to every production brigade. Compared with mid-1958, before the communes came into existence, rural hospitals and beds have increased fourfold while maternity beds have increased elevenfold.

Equipment and personnel are still lacking in quality and will be for some time, but they are not as primitive as one might suppose. Often the commune puts up its new hospital building with its first harvest and makes it, as the patients will want it, one of the biggest and most modern buildings in the area.

The number of well-trained doctors is by no means adequate, but trained physicians seem to be rationally placed in the larger hospitals, on call for difficult cases in the smaller places around. Almost every maternity case, even in China's rural areas, now counts on at least a clean bed in a small maternity home, with a trained midwife, who can quickly get a doctor from the next higher unit for any difficult birth or a specialist from somewhat further away in case of complications.

"Intermediate doctors" with three years' medical training are rapidly being prepared for the smaller clinics, while local women with a liking and talent for nursing or sanitation take special courses, part time or spare time, and enroll in first-aid work right in the field gangs. With all its lacks and gaps, this is probably the biggest and quickest advance in medical care that ever occurred in the world.

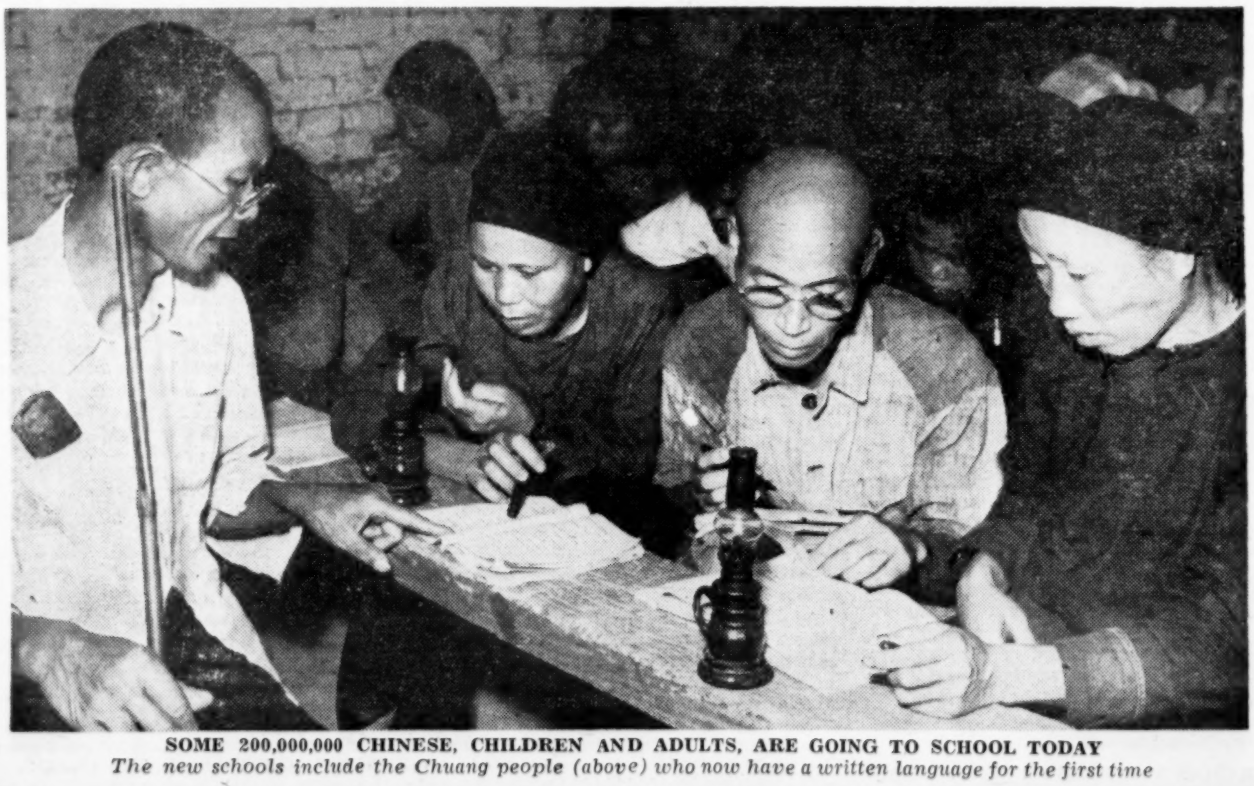
ART AND SPORTS: Songs and dramas written by the peasants who present them are also flourishing through the people's communes, along with sports and athletics. When I ran into 30 basketball teams on the single Shinlung State Farm on Hainan Island, I was surprised, but the local people took it as a matter of course, and merely added that one of their girls had won the provincial swimming championship and had gone to Peking to compete in a national meet.

The recent celebration of the "spring festival," (more commonly known abroad as Chinese New Year's) which came this year Jan. 28, brought out new amateur ensembles of songs, dramas and folk dancing all over China. At the Coconut Grove winter resort where I spent a month to rest, we were several times entertained by the "county ensemble" with dances of the "Li people," a local nationality of whom nobody outside China ever heard. In Shansi province, amateur commune troupes are reported putting on 24 kinds of folk drama, including combinations of the old Chinese story-teller with folk songs and dances, the total repertory consisting of several thousand items.

How much talent is being developed in these activities is hard to say. The subjects of new dramas run to what the West would call "propaganda" but this is not surprising, for local victories in civil war or in a new production are the basic stuff of local life. The "spring festival" program I saw at Shinlung Farm seemed more notable for verve than for finished style, but the "best talent" was off competing in the provincial song and dance competition and we got the second raters.

It was clear at least that a good time was being had by all, and that the people's commune form is in China a natural channel for encouraging local education, health measures and self-expression through drama and song and dance in the rural areas, which are in most lands the backward places.

The type of life that the Chinese people's communes will produce in the next ten years will, I think, be something to see. It may not be too unlike the early community developments when Americans were moving West, and yet it will be unique.



SOME 200,000,000 CHINESE, CHILDREN AND ADULTS, ARE GOING TO SCHOOL TODAY
The new schools include the Chuang people (above) who now have a written language for the first time

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC LEADERS SAY DANGER IS REAL

Does Adenauer plan blitzkrieg on E. Germany?

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

BERLIN

OFFICIALLY, the German Democratic Republic does not exist for the Western powers. Yet the Federation of British Industries, which is the real power behind Britain's Conservative government, has a trade agreement with the East Germans. Hundreds of firms from West Germany form the biggest exhibit from the capitalist side at the Leipzig Fair. East Germany has trade agreements with most capitalist countries. It is fifth in Europe in industrial output. With a population of 18,000,000, it is a country to be reckoned with.

It is forging ahead now in terms of total output and production per capita more quickly than any capitalist country. We have heard for a long time about the miracle of West Germany. The miracle of East Germany is just as important.

The East Germans took longer to rebuild their war-shattered economy. They had technical help from the Russians but nothing like the assistance in capital goods and machinery which the U.S. poured into West Germany. They had to create new industries to replace the sources denied them in the West. Coal output was pushed up to more than 200,000,000 tons a year. A new steel center was built to take the place of the Ruhr. New industries were started, including an aircraft plant which is now entering the jet airliner field.

LOW POINT: As in the other socialist countries, the plan was distorted during the worst cold war period when pressure for capital reconstruction was overdone and the population saw new towns and factories going up while their standard of living remained painfully low. That was a time of real danger, particularly when a more prosperous West Germany was there for all to see.

ADENAUER HAS PLENTY OF THESE, COURTESY OF WASHINGTON
German soldiers race to man a U.S.-made Honest John rocket

Sidney Morning Herald
"Troopers ready. Banners ready. Slogans ready. Just one thing: Where do we get the Jews from?"

But it must be stressed now that the idea of an East Germany waiting to be "liberated" by Dr. Adenauer is definitely out. There is plenty of criticism in the German Democratic Republic today, but one thing is clear: the mass of the people in the GDR give general support to the regime.

Then why all the refugees from the East? The answer is that during the hard times, many people went to the West in search of better conditions. There were others who suffered because of bureaucracy, petty dictatorship and unjust suspicion, which undoubtedly occurred during the difficult years.

DIFFERENT NOW: But today, the picture is changing. The flow from the West to East is almost balancing that from East to West. Many young men are going East to avoid conscription into the West German army. Students of both sexes are pressing for places in the East German universities where grants and other facilities are better than in West Germany.

In the GDR, I met many who had gone to the West and come back. I talked to women who had come East because in the West they could not get a job and bring up the children at the same time. Once in the GDR, they qualified for children's allowances and were able to put their children in a kindergarten. West Germany is offering lavish inducements to professional and technical workers. Men and women with high qualifications are approached whenever they cross from the GDR on a visit or for business reasons; they are even approached inside the GDR and offered wages and conditions out of all proportion to their real worth. This sort of competition between the two sides will go on for a long time because hundreds of thousands cross the borders each year and there are a surprisingly large number of contacts between the two Republics.

Because of these contacts, propaganda by the American and British radio has become a joke. No one now attempts to deny the steadily improving living standards in the GDR. Consumption of meat and butter per capita is higher in the GDR than in West Germany. There is no dispute that rents and the cost of necessities are lower. Consumer goods, like TV sets, washing machines and motorcycles, are in good supply and can be bought under state-aided monthly payment plans. Luxury goods are not as plentiful as in the West, and wage rates in terms of purchasing power are still low. But there is a general confidence that the steady improvement of recent years will be maintained until West Germany is left behind.

THE DANGERS: No one seriously studying the two Germanys will accept the talk of "free elections" which is being revived in some British and American circles. This scheme is designed to enable the 48,000,000 in West Germany to vote the 18,000,000 in East Germany into Dr. Adenauer's Reich. Then presumably the Federal Republic will start to hand back the factories to the trusts and the land to the landowners. The judges who served Hitler and now reign in the Federal courts will begin to hand down sentences on the anti-fascists who have formed the main leadership of the GDR.

Even if Dr. Adenauer still echoes the Dulles nonsense about "liberating" the satellites, the British, American and French governments know that it is nonsense. They know the German Democratic Republic has come to stay and that there can be no hope of re-uniting Germany until the opposing alliances are dissolved and the world really disarms.

East German leaders believe that the West German militarists, who recently defied world opinion by their under-the-counter deal with Franco Spain, have all their plans ready for a blitzkrieg designed to take the Adenauer army to the Polish border in a matter of hours. I reached Berlin not long after Walter Ulbricht, Vice Premier of the German Democratic Republic, had spoken of this threat in a letter to Adenauer and at a press conference in East Berlin. East German spokesmen admitted frankly that few had appreciated the gravity of this warning and that the press had seized on the sentence in which Ulbricht declared that if the Federal government did not end atomic armament in the near future, the GDR would apply for rocket weapons to be put at its disposal.

They assured me that the warning was given after very careful consideration and that the danger is regarded as very real.

THE REASONS: Here are some of the factors:

The West German government has refused to consider any proposal to reduce the danger of an accidental clash on the border between the two Republics, including the plan in the Macmillan-Khrushchev communique for a thinning out of forces, or the Soviet suggestion of a non-aggression agreement between the NATO and Warsaw alliances.

All the maneuvers staged in West Germany are near the border and bear the clear inference that they are designed for a swift attack on the GDR.

Recently the Federal government has announced emergency laws giving it power to conscript all ages, including women, for industrial and any other emergency service, and to evacuate any scheduled areas. The attack on civil liberties, beginning with the Communists, is now being spread to women and youth organizations, the peace movement, the victims of fascism and any section likely to offer opposition.

The progress in the GDR is such that the West Germans are aware that their chance of winning any support for their slogan of "liberation" grows fainter every day.

THE CRUX: The question inevitably is asked: In view of the clear warning that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw powers will come to the aid of the GDR if she is attacked, are even the ex-Nazi generals prepared to court annihilation? In the answer lies the crux of the situation. The West German militarists are—in the view of the East Germans—preparing to put into practice the Kissinger idea of limited war. They calculate on creating an incident as Hitler did on the Polish border in 1939. Then they plan to reach the Oder-Neisse border of the GDR and Poland in a matter of hours. Having done so, they will declare, as Hitler did, that they have no more territorial demands. They will then face the powers with a fait accompli and the alternative to throwing them out will be nuclear war.

This is the other side of the nuclear stalemate. The argument is that if the powers cannot wage nuclear war because it means annihilation for both, then the position after a successful blitzkrieg will be the same as before and the situation can always be presented as a German internal affair.

East German leaders insist that this is not a fanciful picture: it is the only analysis which makes sense of West German military policy. Walter Ulbricht goes further and says that the actual plans of the West German General Staff are known in East Germany and that the Warsaw powers are taking the necessary defense measures.

'Jewish Currents' holds April 9 conference on anti-Semitism

JEWISH CURRENTS magazine will hold an all-day conference on the recent upsurge of anti-Semitism on Saturday, April 9, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., New York City.

In the morning session, Dr. Louis Harap, editorial board member of **Jewish Currents**, will report on "How Have American Jewish Writers Prepared Us?" He will discuss the works of Leon Uris, Herman Wouk, Harry Golden, and others. Mrs. Billie Portnow, management committee member, will speak on "The Status of **Jewish Currents** in 1960."

Morris U. Schappes, editor of the magazine, will speak on "How Has the Organized Jewish Community Helped?" for the afternoon session, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. There will be discussion periods after each report.

Applications for registration may be made to **Jewish Currents**, 22 E. 17th St., New York City, WA 4-5740; registration is $2 for delegates, $1 or individuals.

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S. Africa story

(Continued from Page 1)

in the Johannesburg factories. The African National Congress, which had remained aloof on the ground that the demonstrations were not properly prepared, now gave its backing.

From his lonely exile in Natal Province ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli condemned the "incredible brutality" of the government. He called on all sections of the population "to observe March 28 as a day of mourning" and to stay home.

Police raided the offices of the ANC, the Indian National Congress and the Congress of Democrats (an organization of whites sympathetic to Africans and Asians). They ransacked the homes of opponents of apartheid, confiscated documents, made numerous arrests.

Many white men and women panicked. They formed long lines before gunsmiths' shops, went to bed with guns under their pillows. Others sought Canadian and Australian visas.

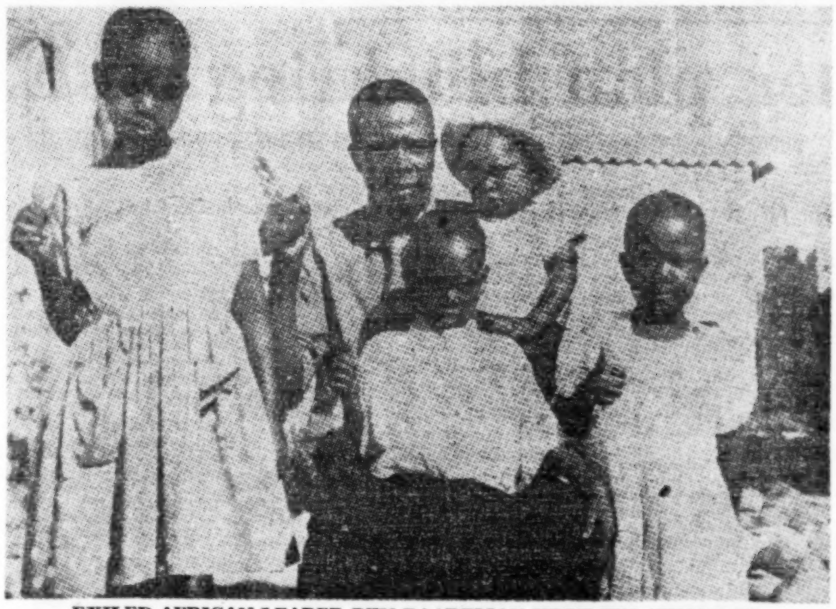
A WORLD AGHAST: Condemnation abroad was widespread. India's Premier Nehru said the shootings "shocked the conscience of the world." Moscow called for an end to South Africa's "racist crimes."

The All-African People's Conference urged all African states and organizations to protest. Nigerian Opposition leader Awolowo asked his government to send home all white South Africans in Nigeria. Kenya African leader Tom Mboya condemned "the barbaric and brutal" killings and was seconded by Liberia's President William Tubman and Canadian Premier John Diefenbaker. (The Australian government more prudently waited for "a close assessment of what has occurred.")

The British Labor Party and Trades Union Congress urged continuation of the boycott of South African goods, as opposition mounted to Verwoerd's visit to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference May 3. The Macmillan government cautiously expressed sympathy for "all the people of Africa."

There were demonstrations before South Africa House in London, during which police were accused of manhandling British Guiana's chief minister Dr. Cheddi Jagan—in London for a conference—who had joined the picket line.

WASHINGTON'S REGRETS: In Washington, the State Dept. regretted "the tragis loss of life resulting from the measures taken against the demonstrators in South Africa." The South African government questioned "the right of the U.S. government to concern itself with South Africa's internal affairs."



EXILED AFRICAN LEADER BEN BAARTMAN WITH HIS CHILDREN
He was allowed to attend his wife's funeral, but was again banished

Washington's action was seen as a move in its competition with Moscow for the goodwill of independent African states. This seemed to be borne out by Under Secy. Douglas Dillon's request for an additional $20,000,000 aid for African states below the Sahara.

In New York, AFL-CIO president George Meany called for UN steps against South Africa's "ruthless" action. The 29 Asian-African UN members unanimously asked for a Security Council meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa, and a session was set for March 30.

South Africa's ambassador to Washington bitterly protested the UN move and in a statement aimed directly at the United States' own racial dilemma said that "a precedent will undoubtedly be created which would enable the Council to discuss racial and other disturbances in any other country."

PASSES SUSPENDED: In the week following the March 21 massacre, tension increased in South Africa. The impact of the work absenteeism was sharp. The Stock Exchange at Johannesburg closed the week with losses of $300,000,000.

As the scheduled March 28 work stoppage approached, the government became increasingly jittery. Then, on March 26, it announced that the requirement that Africans must carry the hated passes had been suspended. It insisted that the suspension was temporary, but no one expected that it could be reimposed without the most violent result. At the same time the police were instructed to end their arbitrary arrest of Africans.

It was a great victory for the Africans and it led some to believe that the world protest, a possible UN censure and, especially, pressure from the South African white industrialists fearful for their profits in a nationwide strike, might lead to further easing of restrictions against the Africans.

On March 28 thousands of workers stayed home. In Johannesburg, only 10% showed up for work. Factories were closed, white housewives had to do their own household chores. Violence flared up when police used tear gas and charged with arms into Africans demonstrating in mourning for those who died a week earlier. There were many casualties.

PLAN OF REPRESSION: Until its retreat on March 26, the government had been following a carefully worked out policy of arresting opponents of apartheid and tying them up in long drawn out litigation; banishment without trial of Africans leaders to confuse their organizations; corralling Africans into manageable areas, away from the cities, and terror when these methods failed.

A "treason trial" has for four years kept inactive 91 anti-apartheid leaders, already cost the defense $280,000, and will cost another $112,000 this year. The government has banished to desolate places 81 African leaders—men and women—at short notice. Among them are Chief Luthuli, trade union leader Mrs. Elizabeth Mafeking, ANC leaders Ben Baartman and Joseph Kumalo, and Chief Msutsu of Transkei.

TALES OF TRAGEDY: Luthuli is confined to a small area in the Lower Tugela Valley. Mrs. Mafeking, mother of 11, vice president of the women's league of the ANC and president of the African Food and Canning Worker's Union, managed to escape into the British protectorate of Basutoland.

Baartman was whisked away to Ingwavuma in Zululand, to a one-room reed hut without floor and door. His wife died of a burst appendix, leaving four children destitute. Baartman, suffering from malnutrition, was allowed to attend his wife's funeral but was sent back, leaving his dazed children in the care of a neighbor. Kumalo, ill and old, is pining away at Duivelskloof, Northern Transvaal. Msutsu died in exile and, it is claimed, his body was brought back and thrown at the feet of his son.

Most of the exiles are physical wrecks. They do not receive the $5.60 a month the government promised them or their dependents. Their families struggle heroically to maintain themselves.

A MYTH IS FOUGHT: Thus the crippled ANC's work is being carried on by the more militant Pan-Africanists, young, well-organized, vigorous, dedicated and articulate. "We are not fighting the whites because they are white," they say. "We are fighting a myth—the myth of white supremacy." They are firm believers in non-violence and passive demonstration. Their slogan: "No bails, no pleas, no fines, no work."

Johannesburg journalist Michael Harmel wrote in **Africa South** (Jan-Mar., 1959): "The Afro-Asian revolution is proving even more rapid and dynamic than the European-American; there are few people today, outside Southern Africa, Alabama and Notting Hill (London), who think that democracy and self-government are **slegs vir blankes'** (for whites only)."

This lesson the Verwoerd government still has to learn.

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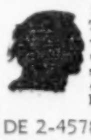

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BOOKS

'Modern' art: A cultural smog

'MODERN' PAINTING seems to lie between the ordinary man and the artistic past like a cultural smog. To such a man most of this painting must seem to be not only a break with the arts of the past but a departure as well from any idea of clear and emotionally effective visual communication.

It is perhaps because of this, among other things, that the people's acceptance of this kind of painting as a whole, its acceptance as a cultural movement, is still so meager. Popular approval is withheld not only in the socialist and underdeveloped countries, but also in the capitalist countries where the common people have been continuously exposed to both the propaganda and the work of the "moderns."

Herbert Read's **Concise History of Modren Painting*** takes for granted the cultural value of its subject, although this question of esthetic importance is one which many would expect art history to be concerned with at all times. However, the book does contain a wealth of reproductions (485 plates, 100 in color) and with its data on painters and their works, it is undoubtedly a good buy considered against the price levels of hard-covered books today.

But the approval of even the most eminent or well-intentioned critic cannot by itself make a historical case for this art or win the people to it. The fundamental question remains whether these productions, from the times of the post-impressionists through those of the "wild beasts" up to the latest privately coded abstractionism or non-objectivism, have been so self-evidently a cultural movement of historical importance.

WE MAY FIND it hard to accept, but the fact remains that there have been other art movements that failed and other periods in history that were artistically barren in some respects. The popular failure of modern painting (in a history which shows that great art movements have invariably been addressed to and have been popular with contemporary masses) suggests that it has not been a genuine esthetic experience for us and may not prove an esthetic gain for posterity.

Still, it is puzzling that the ballyhoo for each new anti-traditional way of painting (Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Fauvism, Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism, Vorticism, Dadaism, Surrealism, Abstractionism and others) has been repeatedly renewed in the face of a basic popular indifference. If this kind of art offered something to which we could respond, why have neither familiarity nor endless explanations and exhortations put the art on its own with us? If the art offers satisfaction, why the critical mystique and the continued hard sell? Are the few who seem to respond enlightened members of an elite? Or are they suggestibles who are reacting to the sustained propaganda the art seems to require? In the latter case, would it not be the propaganda—rather than the painting—that was the effective art?

THE IDEA of propaganda as art (and vice versa) is meaningless outside of a context of social aims. For whom and at whom is this artful and insistent propaganda—and perhaps this art—aimed? Read avoids such questions here and seems to give us what is, at this late date, a bit of classless history.

Nevertheless, we know that this painting has won neither socialist man nor the masses under capitalism. We also know that the arts of the past conditioned the people of their times into hunting and gathering, agriculture and herding, and into early historic, city-state and feudal emotional patterns. This is so plain that we habitually read and re-experience the life of a past time through its arts.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"That Michelangelo you did—the experts say it's a Leonardo."

What would the future read of us—or what are we supposed to experience in ourselves as part of our own times—in "action" painting? Or what would be the ideological or reflex-conditioning value of this or Vorticism or Dadaism? Can it be that man has at last turned out an art that relates him to no way of life? Or has he merely produced what may be recognized as the eminently bourgeois expression, a kind of anti-art art? At any rate, we can say that here, after a wait of three centuries, there has finally appeared an art pretending to seriousness which is so obscure that it is not plainly anti-bourgeois.

THIS returns us to that too-little-noticed singularity of the epoch of the businessman: that his times—even up to today—have produced no characteristically bourgeois art, no business-epoch esthetics. It is well to remind ourselves again that when the countinghouse took over from the palace, church and temple, the life dominated by the "office" encouraged exploitable technologies of all kinds but produced no new graces of living and culture of bourgeois content and motivation (with the possible exception of the works of Horatio Alger Jr.).

With the Renaissance and the Reformation behind it, after the bourgeoisie really came into power, after Bunyan and Defoe in England, for example, the arts, including the great new form, the novel, seemed able to evoke nothing but feelings of distaste for life in, with or under the middle class.

WHAT culture has survived has been over the resistance of the businessman and has won because of the businessman's natural enemies: organized labor here and there has won a decent wage standard; a remnant aristocracy has sometimes (as in England) shamed the capitalists into leaving some of the air and landscape free of advertising and kept a few ancient monuments out of the hands of realtors; and some artists accepting their role in the class of emotional workers, have tried to counter the cultural barrenness of bourgeois times with repeated revivals of past arts—up to what seems to be a complete break with tradition by our "modern" painters. But they are not the fashionable "moderns."

Such a cultural background requires us to cast a skeptical eye on an art which seems to have no recognizable class content, whether or not it has any other content, especially when the class with which the arts could never get along is so fondly tolerant of this one. This is not to say that our times on the "modern" side have produced no good paintings or honest art workers.

THE RECOGNITION of the South Sea Bubble, The Credit Mobilier, the Wall St. boom of the twenties and the capitalist system itself as great frauds does not mean that the 18th century sailors, 19th century railroad workers and 20th cenutry factory hands were knowing participants in the frauds. The artist, like the worker under the same system, is usually one of the victims of buy-cheap-and-sell-dear.

Considering this, should he have let part of his art become socially remote or even useless just at a time when his exploiters were becoming socially worse than useless? Wouldn't this of all times seem to have been one for meaningful art? A case could be made out that the class of jumped-up bookkeepers, feeling its age drawing to a close, has tried to turn the arts into something which will provide people with a maximum of confusion and a minimum of socially effective stimulations.

—**Robert Joyce**

BUT WHAT DOES IT MEAN?
Puzzled visitor studies title card of a painting at a Paris exhibit.

**A CONCISE HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING, by Herbert Read. Frederick A. Praeger, N.Y. 376 pp. $7.50.*

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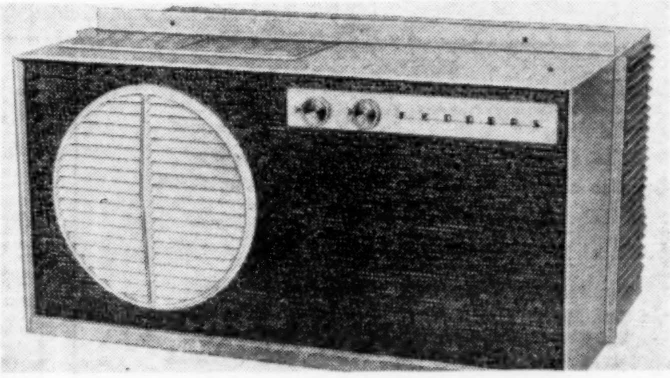

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The Geneva talks

(Continued from Page 1)

with tentacles all over the world (including the Soviet Union) while offering no disarmament in return."

BETHE'S COMMENT: There was some American support and powerful opposition to the new proposal for a nuclear test ban treaty, with a four-to-five year moratorium on underground tests of less than 20 kiloton range, while the three nuclear powers conducted joint research in improving detection methods.

Most significant support came from Dr. Hans Bethe of Cornell University. Bethe was the chief of theoretical physics research on the Los Alamos atom bomb project during the war; he is now a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee. He said Moscow had made "several major concessions" and urged the U.S. to accept with modifications in the duration of the moratorium.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), chairman of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee, called the Soviet proposal "a major step forward" and, with some changes, "a suitable basis for a treaty."

THE OPPOSITION: But Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, called it a "phony" and told the Senate (March 22) the U.S. should break off the Geneva negotiations if Moscow had no more to say about controls. Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), in line to become next year's chairman of the joint committee, warned that "surreptitious violations could occur" during the moratorium. Atomic Energy Commission chairman John McCone also warned against the danger of "a long-range moratorium."

Proponents of continued U.S. nuclear tests, such as the AEC and Dr. Edward Teller, have thrown a smokescreen of misinformation around the underground test issue. According to them, (1) control methods agreed upon at Geneva in 1958 would fail to detect underground explosions up to 20 kilotons; (2) Soviet scientists at a Geneva conference last December refused to modify the 1958 control methods; (3) a moratorium without effective control would enable the Soviet Union to hold underground tests undetected and forge ahead of the U.S.

Peace News, London

"With their tremendous technological progress, they were bound to catch up with us sooner or later!"

BACK TO 1958: These are the facts: In 1958, East-West scientists agreed that a worldwide network of 180 manned seismographic stations (20 in the Soviet Union) plus some on-site inspections of suspicious events would suffice to detect underground tests of over 5 kilotons and might even detect some smaller ones. The U.S. changed its mind after the Nevada underground tests, hastily undertaken just before the Moscow-Washington voluntary test suspension went into effect.

I. F. Stone has noted in his **Weekly** (March 28) that some U.S. underground tests had been detected as far away as 10,000 miles. These explosions varied from 19 kilotons to one as low as .072 kiloton (72 tons). The Soviet scientists at Geneva last December made important concessions and contributed to improving detection methods. They agreed, for instance, to the use of ten times as many seismographs at each detection station as had been decided upon in 1958. Physicist David Inglis said (**New Republic**, March 7):

"This expansion alone would increase detection effectiveness enough to bring that 20 kiloton figure back down to almost the five kiloton agreed on as reliably detectable in 1958."

UNALTERABLE BALANCE: In all the Geneva discussions on test suspension and general disarmament, Moscow has made clear that, following any kind of an East-West treaty, efforts would persist to improve control and inspection methods to detect violations of any part of such agreement. The present Soviet proposal also calls for joint three-power research for improved methods during the moratorium.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S. can appreciably alter the balance of power by small-scale underground tests. Dr. Bethe, who originally developed the "Big Hole" theory, said (March 24) that the U.S. already had "a large variety of nuclear weapons of low yields and small sizes" and the Soviets were probably substantially behind the U.S. Even in "the unlikely case" of a Soviet violation during the moratorium, he said, the Russians could not "shift the balance of military power, even in the restricted area of small nuclear weapons."

THE REAL REASONS: The Advisory Committee on Science and Technology of the Democratic Advisory Council, in its Dec. 20 report on nuclear tests, said: "No nation will vault into a position of technical superiority on the basis of a single or even several low-yield nuclear tests conducted below the earth's surface."

Behind all the maneuvers of the protest forces, lies a determined effort to prevent any treaty because, as the **New Statesman** said (March 26), it would "get off the round of Summit talks to a highly successful start.'

Conrad, Denver Post

". . . I repeat—this is a test . . .!!!"

THEY DON'T WANT IT: With France already on record as refusing to abide by any test ban negotiated at Geneva and the possibility of other powers entering the race for nuclear weapons, these forces hope their stalling will render a test ban treaty impossible.

The Eisenhower Administration, rent by the opposing forces, has remained tongue-tied. That accounts in part for the SOS to British Prime Minister Macmillan, who arrived in Washington March 26 to try to alleviate what the London **Economist** called "the familiar and endemic incoherence of American policy-making under the Eisenhower Administration."

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OBVIOUSLY SOUND is the United States Supreme Court decision disallowing a Little Rock ordinance which would compel the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reveal its membership. Reprisals inevitable after such disclosure would do damage to free assembly far outweighing any benefit that might accrue.

This decision points up the plight of Dr. Willard Uphaus, now serving a year in New Hampshire for refusing to reveal the names of guests at his fellowship camp. In his case the country's highest tribunal held, 5 to 4, that a state has the right to compel disclosures in an investigation of sedition against itself.

The legal reasoning in the two cases differs, but the parallel is too close to sit comfortably on the public conscience. The court's latest decision should stimulate efforts to gain the 69-year-old prisoner clemency that would accord both with humanity and common sense.

—Boston **Globe**, Feb. 27, 1960.

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Sun., April 3rd, 8:30 p.m.
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"MARXIST OUTLOOK TOWARD SOVIET UNION". Was Stalin Inevitable? Is Khrushchev Necessary? Democracy & Economic Growth. Speaker: **James Robertson**, Editorial Board YOUNG SOCIALIST, Sun., April 3, 8:15 p.m. 45 East 7th St. (nr. 2nd Av.) Don: 50c. Auspices: Young Socialist Alliance.

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SAT., APRIL 2nd, 9 P.M.
Saturday Nite Social — refreshments, food, hi-fi music, dancing. Contribution $1. Auspices: New York Intercultural Society, 111 W. 48 St. (top floor).

DR. JOHN A. MYERS, of Baltimore, Md., speaks on "Unsaturated Fatty Acids-Vitamins E & A in Heart Disease." Mon., April 4th, 8:30 p.m. at Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57 St. Adm. for non-members, $1. Auspices: Academy of Nutrition.

DR. JAMES JACKSON will report on THE STRUGGLES OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH
Sun., April 10, 7:30 p.m. at Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Pkway (nr. Utica Av., Bklyn). Cont: $1, students, 50c. Ausp: Crown Heights Forum.

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THE GALLERY

EARLE E. REYNOLDS, under six months jail sentence for attempting to sail his yacht Phoenix into the U.S. nuclear test area in the Pacific in 1958, has accepted a temporary post as visiting professor of sociology at a Hiroshima women's college . . . A resolution at the convention of the California DAR opposed replacing **The Star Spangled Banner** with **God Bless America** as the national anthem because the latter "could apply to Canada, Mexico, the United States and parts of Latin America." . . . **The Wall Street Journal** reported: "A segregation-minded Firstamerica Corp. stockholder asked management what it's doing to keep shares out of Negro hands." . . . A wag in the London **Evening Standard** reported that the latest American missile will be named Civil Servant. "You can't fire it, it won't work, and it's costing the taxpayer a fortune." . . . A British court fined Montague Ley $28 for walking naked through his backyard to wave at the woman next door. Ley's defense was that he is a practicing nudist . . . Groucho Marx said: "People are afraid to speak out these days, but I'm not afraid. If I get fired and they throw me out, I'll put a feather in my cap, buy some short leather pants and go to Switzerland and play tennis with Charlie Chaplin."

THE BBC RADIO has a Home Service program with the cozy English title "Monday Night at Home." Those families not glued to the "telly" on March 14, had themselves a treat better than any dessert. It was called "Reich Pudding," a political satire in the form of a song written by Peter Myers and Ronald May. What tickled British-

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"It's the BBC, mein Fuehrer . . ."

ers most is that it came in the midst of a discussion over a thoroughly unpopular proposal to train German troops in Britain.

One section of the song, to the tune of "Lily Marlene," went:

Underneath the lamplights in the palace yard
Soon there'll be a goose-step changing of the guard,
The corgis will go but you will see,
The dachshunds on the balcony.

Through the song there is the refrain: "As we occupy Britain at last."

Within 48 hours director-general Hugh Carleton Greene of the BBC apologized. "The item," he said, "went far beyond the license normally accorded to programs of sophisticated wit and humor. Its inclusion was a serious error of judgment."

If Greene was sorry, the British press was even sorrier that he was sorry. The apology got banner headlines and the conservative **Evening Standard** ran an indignant editorial, headed "Greene's Blunder," which made it clear that the song expressed the overwhelming popular British feeling about the free world's German ally.

Said songwriter Myers: "We have no regrets. We believed in what we said. It's about time somebody said it. The reaction has been terrific. People have phoned all day saying: 'Thank God someone has said it at last.' A woman member of the London County Council sent a telegram to the BBC saying it was the best thing she had ever heard."

—**Robert E. Light**

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EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A	12,500 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin D	1,000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin B-1	5 mg.
Vitamin B-2	2.5 mg.
Vitamin B-6	0.5 mg.
Vitamin B 12 U.S.P.	1 mcg.
Vitamin C	75 mg.
Niacinamide U.S.P.	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	4 mg.
Vitamin E	2 mg.
Folic Acid, U.S.P.	0.5 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	260 mg.
Cholin Bitartrate	31.4 mg.
Inositol	15 mg.
dl Methionine	10 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried, U.S.P.	102 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate	0.193 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate	1.257 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried	1.573 mg.
Sodium Molybdate	0.253 mg.
Potassium Iodide, U.S.P.	0.099 mg.
Potassium Sulfate	4.458 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried	1.388 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried	21.583 mg.

100 capsules $3.50

VITAMIN—MINERAL

For general use

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oil)	5,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Thiamin HCl U.S.P.	3 mg.
Riboflavin U.S.P.	2.5 mg.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.75 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	1.5 mcg.
Folic Acid U.S.P.	0.34 mg.
d alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E.) Equiv. to 3 I.U.	
Dicalcium Phosphate Anhyd.	747 mg.
Niacinamide U.S.P.	20 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 13.4 mg. Iron)	45.56 mg.
Postassium Iodide U.S.P.	0.133 mg.
Manganese Sulfate Dried CP	4.72 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate 7-H-20	0.49 mg.
Zinc Sulfate Dried CP	3.9 mg.
Sodium Molybdate 2-H-20	1.01 mg.
Copper Sulfate Monohyd.	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate CP	11.2 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate Dried	54 mg.

100 capsules, $2.50

VITAMIN - MINERAL CANDITABS

Choice of chocolate, cherry or both flavors mixed

Vitamin A Acetate	2,500 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D	250 U.S.P. units
Thiamin chloride	1 mgm.
Riboflavin (as the soluble Riboflavin-5-phosphate)	0.25 mgm.
Vitamin B 12 Cyanocobalamin	3mcgm.
Ascorbic acid (as the sodium ascorbate)	30 mgm.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.1 mgm.
Niacinamide	10 mgm.
Calc. Pantothenate	1 mgm.
Cobalt (from cobalt sulfate)	0.014 mgm.
Copper (from copper sulfate)	0.07 mgm.
Iodine (from Pot. Iodide)	0.027 mgm.
Potassium (from Pot. Iodide)	0.01 mgm.
Iron (from Reduced Iron)	1 mgm.
Molybdenum (from sodium molybdate)	0.01 mgm.
Manganese (from manganese sulfate)	0.028 mgm.
Magnesium (from magnesium sulfate)	0.108 mgm.
Zinc (from zinc sulfate)	0.05 mgm.

100 tablets $2.25

STRESS FORMULA

For undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Thiamine Hcl. (Vit. B-1)	10 mgm.
Riboflavin (Vit. B-2)	10 mgm.
Niacinamide	100 mgm.
Calcium Pantothenate	20 mgm.
Pyridoxine Hcl.	2 mgm.
Folic Acid	1.5 mgm.
Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 (Oral Concentrate)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vitamin K. Analog)	2 mg.

100 capsules, $5.50

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The Normandie Squadron

PARIS

ONE DAY IN LATE 1942, a plane with 16 French war pilots took off from Teheran and landed on a snow-bound airfield somewhere in the Soviet Union. Sixteen Frenchmen had gone to join 200,000,000 Russians at a low point in World War II.

For the Russians, it was the time of the great battle of Stalingrad, of German troops far inside Soviet territory. For the handful of Frenchmen, it was a time when sitting by in Vichy-bound neutrality and letting others do the fighting was no longer bearable. The first 16 of the Normandie Squadron had risked their lives in escapes—from France or Indo-China, from Dakar or Algiers—and had flown, ridden or walked to rejoin the fight. To Vichy, they were deserters. The Germans would not even accord them the status of prisoner of war if captured. The 16 did not know it, but the day they landed behind Soviet lines, they began writing one of the most glorious pages of French action in World War II.

THEIR STORY has now been told in a jointly produced Franco-Soviet movie, **Normandie-Niemen,** that has just opened in Paris. It is a film that tells above all the extraordinary comradeship that sprang up between the French pilots and the group of Soviet fliers to whom they were assigned.

This comradeship, based on a common purpose, the common dead and the daily sacrifice and danger shared, canceled out differences of opinion. ("No political discussions with the French pilots," the Russian general warns his officers. "They have come to fight the fascists with us: that is all I want to know.")

It swept away the inevitable day-by-day difficulties. Some of the French pilots, unfamiliar with Russian equipment and the Russian winter, damaged some of the planes at the beginning; the Russian maintenance crews just put in extra night shifts and repaired the damage.

SOVIET FIGHTER PLANES IN WORLD WAR II

The comradeship withstood tragedy. Early in the adventure a French pilot, mistaking a Russian for a German plane, downed a Soviet flier. "It has been an accident; there will be no punishment," decreed the Soviet general—the killed flier's closest friend.

AFTER A FEW MONTHS' training, the French pilots were given fighter planes and sent to the front. They furnished fighter cover for Soviet bombers at Orel, Briansk, Smolensk and Vitebsk, on the Berezina and on the Niemen, which gave the squadron its second name. At the end of the war, when the Normandie-Niemen squadron returned to France with 40 Yak planes as a gift from Stalin and a number of Soviet medals, it had grown to more than 100 pilots, and had flown 5,000 missions with 60 lost men and 277 aerial victories.

The film has been long in the making. A first script written by novelist Else Triolet, wife of Aragon, in 1946 was abandoned. The project was picked up again by Russian-born French producer Alexandre Kamenka in 1957. Mme. Triolet, film writer Charles Spaak and Soviet author Constantin Simonov began working on a new script. Jean Dréville, author of other war films, spent six months in the Soviet Union on location with a group of French and Soviet actors.

The Russians gave Dréville generous help and ample facilities, but had their own mind on certain details. They did not want the film to tell about the early damage to Soviet planes; the scene remained. They found the only scene with German officers and a Gestapo man in it too mild. It was re-written 15 times.

As the picture was about to open in Paris, politically-inspired protests came from a few Normandie-Niemen veterans who claimed the film was not "true" (putting three years of war into 90 minutes of film necessarily required some transposing and compressing.) Most other Normandie-Niemen officers were enthusiastic.

On opening night, in a Champs Elysées theater, a group of Soviet officers specially invited for the showing re-sealed an old battle-hardened friendship with their French fellow soldiers. A good opening signal for the Khrushchev visit.

—Anne Bauer